

APPEAL To the PEOPLE.

Consent not to do Evil.



FROM this Expression we have a plain Intimation, that the Sense of Good and Evil, or Rules of Right and Wrong, (so strongly by Nature imprinted on the Minds of all Men) were perfectly understood by the Nations of Antiquity: That the erroneous Conduct of a Multitude could not alter the Nature of Truth it self; nor could such a Practice (were it ever so universal) render the Sense of One's Duty precarious to a Man of common Sense, or beget in him the least Doubt or Suspicion, about what he ought or what he ought not to do. Nay, 'tis even a Question, Whether the most abandoned Men, who are entirely led by their Passions; Men, who can, without Hesitation, sacrifice the Wealth of a whole Country to their own Avarice and Luxury! Men, who can sacrifice the Liberties of a free People to their Ambition, and involve a whole Nation in Ruin and Misery, that themselves may wallow in Luxury and Affluence: 'Tis even a Question, Whether such absolute Slaves to their Lusts, have not a Sense of their Error, and would acknowledge it if they durst?

We are naturally candid and sincere, and will not assent to a Falshood of choice. Disingenuity and Dissimulation are not natural, nor ever voluntarily entered the Mind of any Man, but are the Effect of Fear and Prostitution, and are forced upon us by Acts of Violence and Oppression; for, when Power becomes absolute and uncontrollable, our Terror of it secures our Obedience to its arbitrary Laws, were they ever so absurd or precarious: And when Fear and pitiful Convenience become our Rule of Action, Nature is supplanted, and these sordid Habits become, to our debased Minds, a second Nature. The Question then is, not what we ought, or what we ought not to do, because it is right or wrong, but what is most agreeable to the Whim of our arbitrary Masters; that is, the enormous Rule by which a People, in those wretched Circumstances, must regulate their Conduct: But a free People, who are vested with the essential Marks of Liberty, that is, *ARMS*: A People, who are thereby themselves Guarantees of their own Privileges, will act agreeably to right Reason, because they dare: Nor will such acquiesce in a Falshood, because they dare speak Truth.

We have naturally a strong Propension to Happiness and to Truth, as the only Way to attain it: But then, we are so weak, that we too often mistake the false Shadow of Things for the real Substance of them, and may be easily impos'd on, to prosecute our Ruin instead of our Happiness, if it is but artfully masked with the Appearance of it. But our Sense of Happiness and Misery is so lively, that we can't mistake the one for the other. Causes are best known by their Effects, and the Design of an Action is sometimes only to be discovered by the Event. Men of the most exquisite Forecast, cannot always foresee the Consequences of their own Conduct, and may be straitned in their Resolutions, whether this or that

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Measure ought to be prosecuted, or which will most probably lead them to the End they propose. But upon the Event, every Man of common Sense can positively determine whether the proposed End is attained: So that the most Discerning may be deceived in their Undertakings; but all Men are Judges of Facts.

This is acknowledged by all Mankind, who have in every Society appointed Men of the greatest Abilities (who have made it their Business to be acquainted with intricate Cases) to solve dubious Questions, and to determine in Matters of Obscurity. But Points of Law only are left to these Judges; and the Trial of Facts was always in all Nations, referred to the inferior Class of Mankind, called indifferently without Regard to Capacity, because such are probably the best Judges of them, as being generally disinterested and unbiass'd. While a Case is undetermined, we may continue in Doubt about it, how it ought to be decided, because we cannot foresee the Consequences; but from the Event, we may judge of the Capacity and Probity of the Judge. And there is no greater Check upon the Fidelity of a Judge, than his own Sense of this, That his Corruption will be discovered from the Consequence of his Actions, and will be resent'd by the Injured.

We are *severally* by Nature so helpless, That the Ends of our Being cannot be answered without Society, and have so strong a Bent to Vice, That the Ends of Society cannot be answered without Government, the Ends of Government cannot be answered, unless the Administration of it be in virtuous Hands, in the Hands of Men of Abilities suitable to the great Trust reposed in them, and who are at the same

same Time Men of undoubted Probity ; for when the Administration is Corrupt, the Design of Government must be perverted ; and the Subjects (whose Protection and Happiness was intended by it) must be ruined, to gratify the private Views of their corrupt Governours. The Interest of the Subjects will no longer be the Aim of such an Administration ; but all its Actions will tend towards the Securing it self in the Arbitrary Exercise of its abused Authority.

We all know, that Government was intended for our Good, and to advance our Happiness. *First*, By protecting Us from the Insults and Incroachments of Foreigners, and then by a disinterested Administration of Justice, to protect Us severally, from the Insults and Incroachments of one another. But if we are engaged in Wars, and if our Properties are invaded to carry them on, our Blood and Treasure lavishly wasted in the Prosecution of them, and discover from the Event that those Matters of the highest and most hazardous Consequence have been undertaken by the Legislature, with a View to secure it self in the Administration, rather than to secure our Honour and Interest, if our Trade is diminished by the Hardships we labour under, and by the exorbitant Duties that are imposed on it, and if the Honour and Dignity of our Nation is prostitute to foreign Insults, for no other Reason, but that our Administrators judged it Necessary for their own Security ; will those who suffer by such Conduct be insensible of it ? Can they be ignorant of Causes of such Effects, or will they be in doubt, whether the Ends of Government, be answered or perverted by such an Administration?

If the Subjects are divided by Faction; and if those Factions are connived at or encouraged by the Legislature, insomuch, that new Courts are appointed and vested with Powers to determine, not according to the Rules of Justice and right Reason, but according to Persons, Circumstances, and Things, and one Part of the People are thereby exposed to the Insolence and Encroachments of another; will the injured be Insensible of it, or will not every Person of Candour and Indifference, look on such Conduct as Arbitrary and unjust, and expect himself to be served so in his Turn, and consider himself as bound by the Laws of Society to do his utmost to rescue the Publick from such palpable Interestedness and Oppression?

If Industry, honest Labour, and Frugality, those great Supports of civil Society, are discouraged, and our Morals debauched by uncertain Views of immoderate Profit, without any adequate Value paid, if the Subjects are thereby misled, with the Hopes of getting an Estate for a Trifle, to withdraw their Money from the Purposes of Trade and Manufacture, those inexhaustible Sources of the public Wealth, to throw it into the Hands of the Legislature, will not the Event of the Lottery convince the Adventurers, That one Tenth of them only were to have the Prize, and that Nine must be robb'd to enrich the Tenth? Or will they be Insensible, That to engross the dispersed Wealth of a Multitude into the Hands of a Few, is not Ruinous and Destructive to the Society, That the Ends of it are not thereby perverted, by Reducing many to Poverty, That a Few may be too rich?

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If the Legislature should propose a Method, to ease us of the exorbitant Taxes they had imposed on us, by a Scheme that was to enrich the Adventurers ; are we to suspect their Probity ? Are we to look on them with such an Eye of Jealousy, as to imagine, That those who are intrusted with the supreme Direction of our Affairs will betray us ? or are we to be blamed for having a Confidence in the Legislature, as long as we allow it to continue in the Administration ? But if from the Event the Adventurers find themselves ruined, and that their Confidence in the Administration had misled them to be the Authors of their own Misery, if these Adventurers are not only themselves undone, by the Execution of this Scheme : But if the Money of the Nation, that was intended to carry on it's Trade and Manufactures, is also thereby engrossed by a Few, and our Credit quite sunk, Payments stopt, and People of good Circumstances (who were not directly concerned in the Project) obliged to give over their Business, and many even straitned for the Necessaries of Life: Will the Sufferers be insensible of their Misery ? or will they be ignorant of the Causes of it ? Will not the Oppression discover the Oppressors ? and will not the Streams of our Ruine lead us to the Source whence it proceeded ?

But if on such an Event, our Tenderness and Regard for the Legislature, should determine us to apply to them for Redress, and incline us to believe, That possibly those who had been entrusted with the Execution of their Scheme, (had of themselves, without the Privy or Connivance of the Administration, involved us in these calamitous Circumstances ; and if this Application should discover the Authors
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of our Misery, the several Parts they had acted, and the Extent of Wealth they had *severally* acquired by their Villainy, and that those hainous Criminals, who had been guilty of such important Treachery, should be notwithstanding screened and protected by the Legislature, and this Affair of the outmost Consequence, shuffled over with a little Ceremony; and we instead of Relief, find our Misery every Day encreasing and growing more extensive, and like a Bird struggling in the Fowler's Snare, the more we cried for Redress, find our selves the more inextricably hampered in the Noose: Would we then be insensible of our State, or of the Means that had brought us to it? whether would we reckon the Tools, or the Hands that had employed them the most criminal, would we be any longer in Doubt about the Innocence of the Legislature? On such an Event whence could we look for Relief but from our selves?

Where could we expect to find it, if it were not in our own Hands; *can the Leopard change his Spots, or the Blackamore his Hue?* could these (who had deliberately concerted a Scheme to bubble us out of our Treasure) of themselves restore the Booty? Is it to be imagined, that those who had so criminally abused the Power that was put in their Hands, for our Protection would ever tamely give it up, would they not rather (thus drunk with Success in Villainy) justify Wrongs by Wrongs, and Spin out our very Bowels in the Defence of their usurp'd Authority before they would part with it; and would we not be under an Indispensible Necessity, either with a Resolution suitable to the Dignity of humane Nature, to wrest the Sovereign Authority

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ty out of such treacherous Hands, and to rescue our selves from the Oppression of such Harpyes, or disgracing our Fathers, tamely to submit our Necks to a Yoak, that might be said (by such passive Conduct of ours) to have been brought on us by our selves, and we become thereby the base Instruments of entailing Servitude upon our wretched Posterity.

A People that have been conquered, disarmed and enslaved, are easily kept under the Yoak, because a few regular Mercenaries can force them (like so many Captives in Chains) to any Thing that is most agreeable to the Arbitrary Whim of their absolute Masters ; nor is there more required to subvert such a Government, that is founded upon and secured by Force only, than a regular Army equal to the Military Power that supported it ; for a People in these wretched Circumstances, are always bent upon Changes, as believing they cannot be worse ; but a free People, who are severally vested with the essential Marks of a Man, that is ARMS, and are thereby Guarantees of their own Liberties, are not easily to be deprived of them : Nothing less can hurt such a Nation, than a Force equal to the united Power of it, because the Government of such a People, that is founded on their Consent, and secured by their Affections, may be said to command as many Soldiers as it has Subjects : The Liberty of such a Nation is no sooner in Danger, than the Subjects fly chearfully to Arms to defend it ; and the Danger is no sooner over, than they as willingly lay them down, and return to their several Employments, that increase their own Wealth, and advance the common Interest of the whole ; nor are their Privileges less secure
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from Oppression and Tyranny at home ; for a corrupt and an oppressive Administration will no sooner from the Consequences of it's Conduct be discovered, than the People must have a Sense of it, and will do themselves Justice.

But then is this signal Difference betwixt Oppression, arising from the sudden Sallies of Passion, or Folly of a weak Administration ; and Oppression which is founded on Forecast and Design ; That the Intention of the first is commonly discovered before it takes Effect, and is thereby prevented ; but the other making it's Appearance under a Mask of Happiness, is only to be discovered by it's Effects, so that there seems to be but one Way to ruine a free Nation, and Experience may convince us of the Truth of it ; and that is, when the supreme Administration or any Part of it, falls into corrupt Hands, who are Men also of Capacity and Design : These foreseeing the Consequences of their own Conduct, commonly propose some new and untried Method, of advancing the Happiness of the People to an extraordinary Pitch, which cannot be attained, unless they are vested with a Power to effect it : The Wise and Discerning may see through this Pretence and suspect the Design ; but these are few, and the unwary Multitude, who make up the Bulk and Strength of every Nation being led by their Propension to Happiness will be imposed on, to become the Instruments of their own Ruine, according to the Saying, *That all Mischiefs are effected by Fools in the Hands of Knaves*, for the Question that is here appealed to the People, is in Point of Conduct, whereof the Event is doubtful, and not of Facts whereof they can determine with Certainty ; and if such De-

signers of their Countrey's Ruine, should be suspected and opposed ; yet so far they may succeed to divide the People by Faction, because their Design, before it is discovered by it's Effects, may appear to many to be honestly intended for their Good, and then a foreign Power joined to either Party, becomes easily Master of the whole.

The Oppression of such an Administration, is generally felt before it is seen, and when the Imposture is discovered, that which was acquired by Fraud, is justified by Force. The injur'd People commonly submit to their Circumstances, to avoid a greater Evil, and often continue so, untill the Administration, flush't, and intoxicat with Success, begins to act bare facedly, and to make its Yoak so intollerably heavy and severe, that the People, unable longer to bear it, are at last armed by Rage and Despair to despise every Danger, and by Violence to rescue themselves from Oppression and Violence.

When the Circumstances of a free People require them to enterprize any Thing of Moment, that concerns the common Interest of the Whole, the Legislature Appeals to the People themselves for their Consent and Approbation ; but the Peoples acquiescing in the Measures proposed by the Legislature, is not founded so much upon their own Judgment, as upon the Regard they have for the Administration, and Confidence they have of its Fidelity and Sufficiency, which is nevertheless answerable for its Conduct ; and if such an Enterprize should miscarry and prove Detrimental to the Society, the People will upon a fair Trial of the Facts be able to determine whether such Miscarriage had been the Effect of Treachery or Mismanagement, or if it had been owing to any unlucky unforeseen Accident that
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could not be avoided ; if to any of the First, the People must have a just and lively Sense of the Corruption or Insufficiency of such Offenders, and would by Rewarding them in Proportion to their Deserts, probably secure themselves from such Abuses for the future; but if to the Latter, the suspected Criminals would be acquitted by Law, and excused at the Hands of the People.

When the supream Legislature is in sufficient Hands, it will prefer the Interests of the Publiick to all private Views and will give up the Guilty to a fair Trial, and never fails thereby to endear it self to the People, and to reveal its Administration in their Affections ; but should the Guilty be screen'd and protected by it, and the Course of Justice stopt or dilappointed, a free People would have too lively a Sence of their Wrongs, to acquiesce in them, and would by Appealing to themselves, discover their Necessity of doing themselves Justice.

When the Legislature was divided in the Reign of K. Ch. the I. and Matters betwixt the Crown and Commons were carried to Extremity, both appealed to the People, nor could any one be blamed for his Judgement in siding with either ; because the Question then appealed to the People was not of Facts whereof they could determine with certainty, but of Conduct, whereof the Event was dubious and uncertain. The Designs of the leading Men amongst the Commons were early suspected by the discerning, who foresaw the Consequences of their Conduct, and the better Sort acted by a generous Love of their Country, were thereby prevailed on, bravely to risque their Lives and Fortunes to save it from the intended Ruin. Yet the unwary Multitude

were easily imposed on, to become themselves the Instruments of their own Misery; because the Pretences of the Commons were plausible, and in Appearance honestly intended, before their real Design was by its Effect discovered; so that the People never suspected their Error, untill they found to their Experience, That the very Yoak they apprehended from the Crown, was by their pretended Deliverers wreathed about their Necks; when they found that the Treasure they had frankly bestowed to secure (as they were told) their Liberties and Properties, had been employed to vest a Few, with a Power to dispose of both at Discretion, that instead of a Government depending on their Affections, they had established in the Person of one of their Servants, a Government absolute and incontrollable; then they too late discovered their Folly, and their Error was by the Severity of its Effects only discovered. But their Sense of their Wrongs was sufficiently discovered, by their frequent Attempts to do themselves Justice, and the inexpressible Joy and Content that appeared in every Countenance at the Restoration, convinced the World that it was Universal? Cromwel never durst trust himself without a Force, but the King never had any; the one is as certain a Mark of Tyranny, as the Other is of free Government.

Here we had a remarkable Instance of this Difference, betwixt a Monarchical Tyranny and one that is Aristocratical; That the First centring in the Person of one Man, rarely out-lives the skilful Artificer that founded it; but the Other, resembling a Number of Tyrants, severally associated and bounded together to maintain and support one another in the arbitrary

trary Exercise of their usurp'd Authority, *never dies*. Besides that, the Expense of an Aristocracy is infinitely greater, and its Administration thereby heavier, more severe and intolerable. This is obvious from our Circumstances at present, compared with those under *Cromwel*: He, at the Expense of two Millions a Year only, maintained a Force at Home, too many for us to encounter, and a Fleet at Sea, sufficient to frighten Foreigners to meddle with his Affairs: Whereas at present, there is extracted from us four Times that Sum, altho' neither our Fleets nor Armies are near so numerous as his was.

When a few turbulent Spirits amongst the Commons designed, in the succeeding Reign of King *Charles II.* to devote the Wealth and Power of their Country to their own Avarice and Ambition, they easily prevailed on a Majority of their own House to comply with their Measures: But the King foreseeing the Consequences of them, timeously prevented their Effects; he dissolved that Parliament, and appealed his Conduct to the People. These Proceedings of the Commons were like Facts, whereof the People could judge with Certainty, because they had so lately, in the preceeding Reign, felt the fatal Effects of them.

Had it not been so, but had the King intended contrary to the Conditions of the Kingdom, and without Regard to the Interests of his Country, to have made his Government absolute and arbitrary; he durst not have appealed to the People, but would have been obliged, like an usurping Tyrant, first to have vested himself with absolute Power, and then to have justified his Actions by Force. But the King, conscious of his own Candour, and of the Sense his
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People must have of their Interests in so plain a Question, raised no Forces, but trusted his Government entirely to their Affections, and appealed to themselves the Security of their own Rights; while they, on the other hand, reflecting on their Danger and seasonable Deliverance, expressed their just Sense of it in the most grateful Terms, by their Addresses of Thanks from almost every Town and Country.

In the same manner, when the Duke of *Monmouth*, in the succeeding Reign, laid Claim to the Crown, and invaded *England*, trusting to the Power of the Faction, who delight in Disorder, and covet publick Offices for private Ends, and choose to risque the Peace and Liberty of their Country, rather than not to be absolute Managers of it; while the Earl of *Argyle*, to favour his Design, invaded *Scotland*, raised his Vassals, and put himself at the Head of the Malcontents of that Country: The King appealed his Right to the People. This was so plain a Question, and so universally understood, that every one of the meanest Capacity could, without Hesitation, determine himself about it. And this appeared further obvious from the Event.

But when a corrupt Ministry soon after prevailed on this Prince, to make a Handle of this to raise an Army, and thereby to vest himself with absolute Power, his Designs were justly jealous by his best Friends; several Popish Lords (notoriously disaffected to our happy Constitution) were entertained in the Army; the Prerogative Royal was stretched to abuse Royal Authority, and made subservient to bad Ends; many illegal Steps were taken, and our obsequious Submission to oppressive Hardships was expected as a Test of our Loyalty; Parliaments were called,

led, but were again, by the Influence of a corrupt Administration, dismissed before any salutary Resolutions were agreed to, and the Grievances complained of, continued unredressed. Then the People, by these Disappointments, found themselves under an absolute Necessity to appeal their Case to themselves, and to do themselves that Justice which the Court refused.

The generous Offers of the Prince of *Orange*, to deliver Us from the threatned Danger, was universally embraced by People of all Ranks and Conditions, and was the more chearfully acquiesced in, That his plausible Beginnings, and near Relation to the Crown, seemed to place him beyond the Suspicion of interested and ambitious Views; but what chiefly contributed to facilitate the Enterprize, and to dissipate those Dark-clouds of Fear that threatned so terrible a Storm, was, That the King's Army consisted of Natives, who were for the most Part commanded by Gentlemen of Quality and Condition, and who had been educated suitably to their Birth, these had too just a Sense of the Liberties and Privileges of their Fellow-Subjects, and of the real Interests of their Country, to become, for a sordid Reward the Authors of its Ruin, they had too clean Fingers for such dirty Work; and altho' they owed much to their Prince, who imployed, paid, and trusted them; yet they owed more to their Country, whose Bread they ate, whose Cloathing they wore, and whose Arms were put in their Hands, for the Protection and Defence of the Public; therefore these considering themselves as Free-Subjects, shared in the Appeal, and sided severally with such Measures as they conceived would most probably
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secure their Country from the Encroachments of Arbitrary Power.

But we had scarce felt the solid Effects of this Calm, when new Clouds of Misery began to rise in our Hemisphere ; our Army was no sooner dispersed, and part of it incorporated under the Prince's Direction, than false Rumours were industriously spread, and unfair Artifices used ; to alienate our Affections from the King, and to render his Government odious and Frightful ; While the Prince made Use of the Power that was put in his Hands, to step into the Throne ; and thereby entailed on Us all the Calamities that attend a disputed Succession ; so that we may be said, by the imaginary Appearance of the Devil, to have been frightened into the deep Sea. Had K. William been like his Predecessor, a Weak and a well meaning Prince, then his Designs would have, like his, been discovered before we felt their Effects, and so might have in the same Manner been prevented ; but as he was a Prince of extraordinary Endowments, his peculiar Abilities for Government rendered his Administration easy, and his Conduct for sometime unsuspected.

The Civilities received by K. JAMES from Catholick Powers during his Exile, probably inclined him to fall in with their dangerous and erroneous Tenets ; and as he was himself sincere and free of Jealousy, so was he liable to be imposed on, by a corrupt Ministry to prosecute Measures that threatened the Nation with Ruin, and were destructive to his own Family ; but the Conduct of K. W. was directed in Proportion to the great Abilities of the Author of it ; his Actions were all brought upon the Stage, under the Appearance of Happiness, we
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were by him engaged in Wars, both Bloody and Expensive, and of long Continuance, with a Design, as we were assured, to secure our Civil and Sacred Rights from the Encroachment of Arbitrary Power ; and even the Settlement of the Succession to the Crown (in Prejudice to the nearest Heirs of it) was proposed and agreed to, as an undoubted Security of every Thing that was dear to Us : Because a Prince advanced to the Royal Dignity by the People, having no other Title to it, but their Affections, would probably be under greater Check, than a Prince acquiring it by Inheritance.

Whether the Sense too many have of the Lame-ness of such a Title, disappoints those happy Ends proposed by such an Administration, or whether such a Prince's own Jealousy of his Right to the Dominion, otherwise determines him, is uncertain ; but Experience hath sufficiently convinced Us, from the Practice of all Princes in these Circumstances; that such consult their own Interest, more than the Interest of their People, and have ever made their own Security the Rule of their Government.

The real Designs of these long and expensive Wars that have at last reduced Us to the calamitous Circumstances we now groan under, have been by the Event only discovered ; now we find that it was not any Regard to our Interests that occasioned them, but the Security of the Administration, That it, jealous of Us, inclined to trust it self rather to foreign Alliances than to our Affections, and thereby to depend upon Foreigners for its Security, and so under a Necessity of giving up our Interests to Foreigners; now we find, That the mistaken Way to happiness, we have been so long pursuing, hath at last landed

Us in Misery ; and that these very Evils that were only threatned from K. JAMES's Administration, have really come upon ~~Us~~ under the Present.

Our Sacred and Civil Rights were in eminent Danger of *Popery* and *Popish* Influence, from the Management of KING JAMES ; But as these Evils might have happened, so might they, by several Accidents, have been prevented. A Detection of the Treachery of those Ministers who directed the Measures of that weak PRINCE, and who were soon after caressed, and admitted to offices of Trust by his Successor K. W. must certainly have opened his Eyes, and convinced him, That the only Security of a rightful PRINCE, was the Affections of a free People: But of late, and now, our Church is not only in Danger from Atheism and Immorality, and from Atheistical Principles, but has really felt the Effects of them ; have not our Clergy been discouraged and contemned, Religion and religious Rites, ridiculed and made a Subject of Diversion ? open and avowed Professors of Atheism, advanced to Offices of the highest Trust, the Judicative Power of the Church suspended, and its Designs to stop the Growth of Heresy and Immortality, and to censure its own false Brethren, disappointed ?

Our Liberties and Properties were in imminent Danger from the Administration of K. JAMES, but what was from that Government only apprehended, hath, to our woeful Experience, been felt under the present, Liberty and Property are so nearly allied to one another, That the One cannot be invaded without infringing the Other ; for no Man that is under a forcible Necessity of parting with his Property, can be said to enjoy Liberty.

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We frankly gave up Part of our Property, as long as we imagined it was candidly employed to secure us in the legal Enjoyment of the Remainder, and in the free Exercise of our Liberty; but when our Wealth and Power were wasted, our disregarded Complaints of it, discovered to us, that our Wealth had been employed to vest a few with an uncontrollable Power to dispose of us and our Effects at Discretion, and to bring upon us these very Evils we now groan under, which have laid a Foundation for others still more grievous, as we, by our declining Circumstances, become less able to bear them. Then we found we had been hurried on in the Prosecution of our Ruine, mask'd only under the Appearance of Happiness.

The real Causes of these tedious Wars, (so bloody and expensive) that have reduced us to this low and contemptible Estate, are, from these grievous Effects of them, now well understood. The Reason why we fell upon a Nation (in Time of Peace) to whom we owe more, (in Point of Commerce) than to the Half of *Europe* besides, and whereby our Trade was brought so much to a Stop; is now fully explained. Now we know, why our Commerce in the *North* was so long interrupted, whereby the Subjects were deprived of the Profits of the Bulky Trade. Every one of common Understanding now can tell, why a few were empowered by the Legislature to mislead us to Ruine, to impose on us (by the Expectation of immoderate Gain) to withdraw our Money from the Purposes of Trade and Manufacture, whereby the Nations Cash was engrossed in the Hands of a few; our Manufactories thereby in a great measure stop'd; foreign Trade almost brought to a full Stand; and the

feriour Sort, who make up the Bulk and Strength of every Nation, thereby turn'd idle, and reduc'd to the miserable Estate of Beggary.

This National Robbery was patiently born, until the Case was fully tried: The treacherous Facts and Actors were both discovered, and we expressed our univcrsal Sense of them, in the most plain and strong Terms, by our Addresses from almost every Town and Country: And yet these criminal Actions, however hainous in their own Nature, but much more so in respect of their calamitous Consequences, are nevertheless justified, in asmuch as the Authors of them are indemnified.

What then remains for us to do? Have we not in vain essayed all regular Means of Relief? And are we not then under an indispenfable Necessity to have Recourse to the *Dernier Resort*, by Appealing our Case to our selves? Have not those (who have thus abused and oppressed us) in their own Hands the only Power to call themselves to Account? And is it to be imagined, that such will ever call themselves to Account? Or if they should, what Account can we expect? Have they not also already discovered to us their Capacity of continuing themselves in the arbitrary Exercise of that Power as long as they think fit? Are they not now so conscious of their Power, that they scorn longer to disguise their Conduct? Do they not glory in the publick Spoils, and triumph over the empoverish'd Subjects? Have they not been at pains to convince us, that they are above the Laws, and beyond the Reach of Justice? And do they not thereby bid us open Defiance, and declare open War against us?

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Why are we disarmed ? And why do our Superiors put their only Confidence in Regular Mercenaries, who indeed have our Arms put into their Hands, and who are paid and clothed by us ; but who nevertheless insult and abuse us ? And if any one discover the least Propension to do himself Justice, such is by them cruelly slaughtered at Discretion : To convince us (no doubt) that tho' they use our Arms, eat our Bread and wear our Cloaths, they are only under the Command, and at the Direction of their Employers. And why are the Complaints of such Abuses disregarded and discouraged ? And when such Murderers are tried, why are they indemnified, and the Course of Justice against such blood-guilty Criminals stopt and disappointed ? Is all this, because we have so little Sense of Liberty, and so small a Value for Property, that we would not employ our Power to defend them ? Is it to be imagined, that we would not exert our selves, to secure to us and our Posterity those Things that are so valuable to humane Nature ? Or is it, that a lawful Government, depending upon the Affections of a free People, is not thereby divested of a Capacity to enslave them ? This is so very plain a Question, and so obvious, that it may be determined by every one that has the Use of Reason, even of the meanest Capacity.

Therefore, to you the People of *Great Britain*, the *Appeal* at last lies. The Severity of your present Circumstances must now of necessity be *Appealed to your selves*, whether you will act like your selves, and with a Resolution suitable to the Dignity of your Nature, you will bravely risque your Lives, to deliver your selves from Oppression ; or if you will disgrace
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your Fathers, and become a Scandal to humane Nature, by your tame Submission to it.

This is not an Appeal in Point of Conduct, where-
 of you can possibly be mistaken, 'tis of Facts which
 you have already determined on; Facts of which
 you have universally expressed your Sentiments in the
 plainest Manner; and if you are but as Unanimous
 in your Resolutions to do your selves Justice, as you
 seem universally Sensible of your Misery; it is ap-
 pealed to any Man of common Sense, whether you
 can possibly miscarry in the Attempt. Numbers of
 the poorer Sort may be said to have been already cut
 off from their People, by the severe Consequences of
 the Conduct of our Superiors, and its appealed to
 you, whether one 6th or a greater Proportion of Us,
 is not still likely from the same Effects to be famish'd
 to death at home, or forced from our Native Country
 like Traitors to seek our Bread amongst Foreigners;
 it is appealed to you who are in these deplorable
 Circumstances, whether it is not more Noble, yea,
 even more eligible for You, to purchase ARMS with
 the small Remains of your Wealth, and bravely to
 endeavour your Relief, even altho' you should mis-
 carry in the Attempt, than to languish out a few wret-
 ched Years in Sorrow and Misery; 'Tis appealed to
 you who are in better Circumstances, who may vain-
 ly imagine, That you are able to support your selves,
 and to answer all the Demands of your Superiours,
 after such a Number is undone, whether you are
 not indispensably bound by the strongest Ties of Na-
 ture and Society, to succour, support and to assist
 your distressed Brethren; and whether you are not
 by the same Bonds indispensably obliged, to hand
 down to your Posterity those Privileges your Fathers
 have

have ever, on the Peril of their Lives and all the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure, delivered unto you.

Let Us suppose, pray, what is absolutely impossible, That we should unanimously Endeavour our Relief, and that one Half or greater Number of Us should Perish in the Attempt; yet 'tis appealed to you, Whether you are not in Duty to your Posterity bound to undertake it: That they inspired by your Example, may be steadily determined, to lay Hold of every plausible Opportunity, to effectuate that, which by you was so nobly begun, rather than basely to betray so great a Trust, by giving up their Rights, and thereby to entail Servitude upon them, and to leave them Wretchedness and Misery for an Inheritance. What Father can entertain the thought to preserve Life at so dear a Rate, as the wreathing a Yoak of Bondage about the Necks of his Children? And to deprive them of the Liberty of every Thing, save That of Cursing the mean spirited Parents that begot them, to be the Heirs only of Misery and Sorrow.

It must be acknowledged, that however choaking Servitude is to humane Nature at first View, yet it it is gradually usher'd in, under the Appearance of somewhat else; by becoming Familiar it sits easy upon Us, and that too few have Sense enough of their Duty, timously to oppose the first Steps to Arbitrary Power, but are willing, if there appears any Inconvenience in the Opposition, to account for them otherwise, as if they were honestly intended; and as long as they feel themselves untouched, are unwilling to enquire into the Causes of their Neighbours Ruin. But this is not now the Case; it is appealed

led to you, if there be amongst us (except the public Robbers and their Associates) any one, from the highest to the lowest, whose Wealth is not much diminished by publick Frauds or Exactions, and by the necessary calamitous Effects of them ? And it is appealed to you, whether any one can be said to have the Exercise of his Liberty, when we are obliged to purchase Safety at so dear a Rate, as by the Approbation of, or at least, by seeming to acquiesce in the vilest Measures?

It must likewise be acknowledged, that as the Evils came not upon us at once, but by piecemeal succeeded one another, and that many were undone, before they were aware, or suspected the real Cause of their Ruine, and that by frequent Discouragements, we are much dispirited; and many so diffident of Relief, that they seem to have given over Thoughts of living free : Let such, pray, who are thus afraid of their own Shadow, reflect but rationally upon the Effects of their Fear, and like a Phantom 'twill vanish; do our Oppressors put their Trust in a *Veteran Army*, consisting of trained Men, who have been accustomed from their Youth to the Use and Exercise of *ARMS*? Is it an *ARMY* that has been in Use to encounter and foil Foreign Armies, the real Enemies of their Country? Or is it an Army, that consists for the most Part of our poor unhappy Brethren, who by the calamitous Circumstances of the Times, are reduced to Idleness and Poverty, and thereby deprived of all other Means of getting Bread ? Is it to be imagined, that these are so very insensible of their own Condition, and of the glaring Causes of it, and that they are so very destitute of Tenderness of their Country, that they will continue to be
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the Instruments of it's Oppressions, longer than their Safety necessitates them to it?

Is this Army commanded by Gentlemen, who have been trained up from their Youth in the Knowledge and Experience of Military Affairs, and who have acquired their Commands by Merit, or Dint of Service? Or were such thought improper for the Execution of oppressive Measures, in so much that this Army is commanded by the basest of our Youth, who pass their Time in Luxury and Debaucheries, and have contracted such Habits of Idleness, that they are become useless, and even a Burden to Society? Have these acquired their Commissions by Merit or Service? Or have they employed the Patrimony left them by the Industry of their Fathers, to purchase Offices, which they never could have expected to arrive at by other Means? These are they who insult you, of whom you are so much afraid. But whom have they ever toiled? armed Men of equal Numbers, who were on equal Terms with them? Or have the Meek, Disarmed and Defenceless been the Objects of their Bravery? If you are steadily determined to rescue your selves from Oppression, It is appealed to you, whether an Army thus appointed, or indeed any Army, which the small Remains of your Wealth is able to maintain, bears any Proportion to your united Power?

It must likewise be acknowledged, That till of late our Power has been employed against our selves, That we have been artfully divided by Faction, and thereby employed in the undoing of one another; that the Promoters of it might make an easy Conquest of Both. We have been hitherto like the Dog, snarling at the Stone, without adverting to the Hand

that threw it : But the Actors behind the Curtains, are from the Events now discovered. We have at last observed them to shift Hands, encouraging sometimes one Party, and sometimes the other ; but never regarding either, further than they chanced to serve their own interested Purposes. And when the Interest of Statesmen requir'd, have we not seen *Whigs* as well as *Tories*, (those hated Names of Party) without Regard to their Zeal and Services, spoiled of their Properties by State Artifices ; and the just Complaints of all the Injured, without Distinction, equally disregarded ?

After so manifest a Discovery of the Springs of Faction, is there any one who enjoys the Use of Reason, that can be blinded with it ? Did we ever see the Heads of a Party stand longer by it than another offered them better Terms ? And ought not we then to throw away this Bone of Contention, to try for the future the fair Pretences of these deceitful Systems, by the Touchstone of our Reason ? And as we are now circumstanced, to unite our Power against the common Enemies of our Country, who are placed beyond the Reach of its Laws, and have thereby declared open War against it ? But then, as we are Rational Creatures, we ought not to allow our selves to be led by Rage and Despair, to plunge our selves into seen Hazard, and to run our Heads against a Wall, as it were. What is incumbent on us, is to be in Readiness to lay hold of the first Opportunity that offers to us the Means of Relief, and to be firmly determined to part with all Backlooks, Reserves or particular Views to Conveniency, and to behave our selves like Men acted by a true Sense of Liberty. If we are thus steadily resolved, we may soon look
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for an Occasion to do our selves and our injur'd Country Justice. Let no Man faint because of Disappointments or former Sufferings. We have been grievously afflicted, but in a Manner that hath led us to a Sense of our Error, by pointing out to us our Sin in our Punishment. But shall the Rod of the Wicked lie always heavy upon us? Or will Heaven arise for the Oppression of the Poor, and for the Sighing of the Needy, and set them in Safety from him that puffeth at them? *Psalm xii. 5.*

Fear not, for if we have but a lively Sense of Liberty, just enough to prefer it to a Life of Servitude, what have we to fear? A Man of Spirit will of choice encounter Death in its most frightful Shape, rather than think of a base Submission to Slavery. And if we by our Conduct discover to the World that we are in earnest, that this injur'd People, so much insulted, abused and trampled upon by Oppressors, and so very much despised and set at nought by their Oppressors; have nevertheless, at last reassumed the Spirit of Liberty peculiar to their Fathers; That their Resentment, heightened by Sufferings, hath at last exceeded all Bounds; and that we, enraged by Want, and armed by Despair, despise every Danger, and seem firmly determined to live free, or not to live at all: What Proportion will a Handful of Mercenaries bear to our incensed Numbers? Or rather, how would our unhappy Brethren, who groan under the severe Yoke of Military Bondage, rejoyce in the Opportunity, and employ their Country's Arms in the Service of their Country? On this Event, which depends entirely on our selves, how would Oppres-

fork and their Abettors be stunn'd with Horrour and
Surprize, and like deserted Criminals, haunted by
the frightful Images of Halters, fly from us, as from
the Sword of Justice?

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